[THE FACTS ABOUT HUNGARY.—Pages 1271, 1272.

THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

Vol. VI.—No. 1 SATURDAY, MARCH 29th, 1919 Price Twopence.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE.

(1) What do you think of the League of Nations?
(2) Oh! "Capital," my boy, "Capital"!

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

L'Humanité, March 17th, states: The constitution of the Third International was communicated by wireless from Moscow on Jan. 23rd. The message is not always clear and often defective. The manifesto begins with two assertions:—

1. The complete bankruptcy of the two (?) Socialist parties and the social-democratic party.

2. The danger to the revolution from the alliance of capitalist States.

These two factors necessitate the convocation of an international congress of the revolutionary proletarian parties. What will be the basis of this convocation? It will be based on the following principles:—

1. We have reached the period of a universal débâcle of the capitalistic system.

2. The proletariat must forthwith assume power.

3. The proletarian Government will take the form of a class dictatorship: the dictatorship of the proletariat will be an instrument for bringing about the systematic overthrow of the exploiting classes.

4. Immediate expropriation of capitalism, abolition of private property, monopolisation of large firms.

5. Disarm the bourgeoisie, general armament of the people.

6. Omitted.

7. Mass action by the proletariat....

8. The former International has split into three groups: the patriotic Socialists, the Minority Socialists like Kautsky, always wavering, incapable of a determinate stand and who, up to now, have really acted like traitors; finally, the left revolutionary wing.

9. Against the patriotic Socialists a fight to a finish; as to the centrists, one must discriminate between the leaders whom one must severely criticise, and the revolutionary elements which one must endeavour to alienate from the leaders.

10. To act in unison with the syndicalist revolutionary elements of the working-class movement which is not yet politically organised.

11. It is essential also to rally the elements, which though they have not joined the revolution have a tendency to move in that direction.

12. Then follows a list of thirty-nine organisations which are invited to take part in the Congress: Spartacus League; the Russian (Bolshevik), Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, Ukrainian, and Dutch Communist Parties; the Rumanian, Bulgarian (the narrow section), Italian and Norwegian Socialist parties; left fractions of parties which were adherents to the former International; groups and organisations in the inner circle of the French Socialist movement which in their ensemble have shown solidarity; the British Socialist Party, &c., &c.

The foundation of the third International exists already in the sense "that diverse elements have already formed themselves into groups and organisations of comrades with the same trend of thought."

14. The Congress will serve as a centre to the Communist International, the chief characteristic of which will be the subordination of the movement in every country to the common interests of the International Revolution.

The thus convened Congress has taken place in Moscow in the beginning of March. A wireless from Tsarskoie Selo (near Petrograd), dated March 9th informs us of the proceedings and states that Henri Guilbeaux, representative of the French proletariat, was present at the last session on March 6th, having just arrived in Moscow.

Nineteen countries were represented by thirty-three delegates. A manifesto, drafted by Trotzky, was adopted. At the request of the Finnish delegate the Congress paid homage to the memory of the countless victims of the ferocity of the Finnish bourgeoisie. (It is a fact that the word "countless" is not exaggeration.)

Our friend Sadoul appealed to the workers of all lands on behalf of the Russian Revolution, which is threatened on all sides by imperialism, and Guilbeaux announced the demise of "the International of the Opportunists" in terms which prove that the former director of *Demain* is insufficiently informed about the Conference in Berne.

Citizen Platten (Zürich) read the adopted resolutions. In a final address Lenin asserted that the revolutionary movement of the working masses was growing in all countries, even in Western Europe, in the countries of the victors. The complete victory of the proletarian world revolution was assured. The delegates then sang the International, and repaired to the Grand Theatre where a public meeting was held.

Via Berne, March 15th.—At the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow the Russian Communist or Bolshevik party was represented by the citizens Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Spalin, Bukharin, Tchitcherine, Obolinsky and Vorovsky.

THE COAL CRISIS.

SITUATION IN SOUTH WALES *by* SYNDIC.

Writing on March 24th it is rather difficult to describe a situation, in itself full of conflicting movements hourly changing; and which may have changed entirely by the end of the week. The reader will know of the miners' demands, or "Charter" as it has come to be called, consisting of four points:—

1. A six-hour working day.

2. A 30 per cent increase on wages, less the amount, *i.e.*, 3*s.* per day, paid as a war bonus.

3. Nationalisation of the Mining Industry, with a large measure of control of working conditions by the working miner.

4. Full minimum rate of pay, according to their grade, to all discharged and demobilised men who are unemployed.

The last point—number four—has been shelved, without reference to the men, by the M.F.G.B. Executive's acceptance of Lloyd George's plea, that this is a general question and not specifically a miners' grievance, and that it therefore calls for general, *i.e.*, national treatment. Just in passing it may be pointed out that the cost of living is relatively very high in South Wales, and quite large numbers of ex-service men are waiting for employment. Meanwhile, they try to subsist on an unemployment "benefit," which in a number of cases is no higher than the separation allowance paid to the wife and family in the soldier's absence.

The first three points, however, still retain some virility, although almost emasculated by the Sankey report. Nationalisation is to be still further discussed, and will probably be fathered by the Government in a highly bureaucratic form. Control by the miner will, we expect, be most conspicuous by its absence in any Government measure.

The 30 per cent demand becomes a flat rate advance of 2*s.* per working day, or roughly a 20 per cent advance for the lowest paid grade of adult mine worker. The percentage of increase will of course be less to the more highly skilled and paid miner. Nevertheless, the *principle* of a flat rate increase has been generally well received, as it is recognised that the 30 per cent demanded is not an increase in wage as against wages in 1914, but an attempt to equate the rise in price of the necessaries of life. For such is the condition of many members of "the strongest and most militant trade union in Great Britain," buttressed by the Triple Alliance, that they cannot keep their wives and families in the same standard of comfort as obtained in 1914.

The action of the Executive, in being drawn into a discussion of the Sankey Report, is widely condemned. It is felt that before any negotiation on a modification of our demands should have taken place the men should have been consulted. As it is, to-day—Monday—so great is the dissatisfaction of the men, that many collieries are idle. The men having "downed tools," to show the leaders that their demands are bedrock, and not to be cut about to suit the convenience of profit-mongering coalowners supported by a Capitalist Government. It is plainly seen that there are two elements amongst the leaders, one vacillating and anxious to compromise, wishing to be regarded as "sane" and "reasonable," in a word politically-minded men who are affrighted of the wrath of the usual capitalist bogey—the Public; and the modern men who know we have to wring any advance on, or even a retention of our present status, by our own organised industrial strength. It is to back this latter element, although it will probably incur their condemnation, that this sporadic strike has broken out. The men see clearly that the issue of an extra shilling—for that is what the demand of 30 per cent as against the 2*s.* flat rate amounts to—and an hour's decrease in the working day, are things worth fighting for, even if the leaders have become enamoured of the Hanky-Panky Report with possible ameliorations.

Meanwhile the Government has not been idle. Apart from commandeering premises for troops inquiries have been made, via confidential letters, to the secretaries of certain branches of the Discharged and Demobilised Sailors' and Soldiers' Association. The names of local "revolutionaries" and "Bolshevists" are wanted. But for the honour of the above Association let it be said that in most cases all such inquiries are turned down. As an example of the feeling shown by the returned sailors and soldiers, the following resolution, passed by many of the local branches, *but refused publication in the Capitalist Press*, may be interesting.

RESOLUTION.

1. "That this meeting of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors calls upon the Government immediately to introduce legislation to prevent the exploitation of the labour of disabled soldiers and sailors. We consider that such men are entitled to the protection asked for as part payment of the debt which the country

continued on Page 1274.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

THE QUEEN IN BRADY STREET.

I have not had the honour of a call from Queen Mary, but I am glad she has been round Brady Street. I have a few friends there. I should perhaps say that my friends live in the better part of Brady Street, but that is a far cry from a garden suburb. One climbs up innumerable steps in a "block," where series of rooms are piled on top of one another and called—save the mark!—"mansions." There is a court below where the children play on that grassy carpet made of concrete which is so pleasing to the eye, and so restful for a child to fall upon.

I have another friend who lives over a grocer's shop, right at the top, where a plaster ceiling has to serve for an umbrella when the gates of heaven are opened and someone turns on the tap. This is in Bethnal Green Road. I am sorry our dear Queen missed it. She would have been interested in it, surely, and more so in the story the young wife who rents it could tell. Her husband was on a committee that opposed the application of the Conscription Acts to Russian subjects, and one day some of our kind police came in and packed him off to Russia, without any arrangements about his wife and child. He is now in Moscow, and I daresay his wife could go there if the Queen could lend her fifty pounds—perhaps.

It is not clear what determined Queen Mary to go to Brady Street. Time hangs heavily on one's hands when one finds little useful to do, but we may have some hopes that she will write an article for THE DREADNOUGHT on her impressions. She may even ask some of the dwellers in Brady Street to come and lodge in some of the rooms at Buckingham Palace, or Windsor Castle, or Osborne, or Balmoral, or even Sandringham, whilst new houses are being built. The Queen cannot very well live in all the royal palaces at once.

The fact is the visit of the Queen is about as useful to Brady Street as would be the visit of a Jazz band. There have been others—mere men and women—who have taken an interest in the slums, not only of Brady Street, but of Ancoats, Angel Meadow, Pollokshaws, and all the rest of the places where slums and hospitals flourish. And for trying to alter these slums in the only way they can be altered, these men and women have been abused, insulted, and imprisoned. The people of England once shuddered at the word "Socialism": now it is called "Bolshevism."

It is not a question of names or labels: it is a question of commonsense. A flower will only grow in the sunshine, and how much more so a human being? Half the people is herded in cities, whilst the countryside is void and empty for acres and leagues. But slums bring profits, and that is the only question that counts with the landlords. And everything nowadays is looked upon in terms of profit.

And if Brady Street were pulled down and better houses built, how would the tenants be able to pay the rent? It is obvious that they do not live in Belgrave Square because there is a little matter of money that makes a great deal of noise. Yet these people, who will go on paying rent for these slums until they are pulled down, are probably employed in industries that are making big profits for the owners. For instance, one colliery firm was able to pay a dividend of 197 per cent and put £150,000 into reserve, whilst most of their colliers had to live in one-room "houses."

Let us suppose then, that all workshops, all factories, all mines, all docks, all ships, and all railways were owned and controlled by the people themselves. And that wages were abolished. How would the people live then?

As the houses would belong to the people, there would be no rent to pay for such houses as were good enough to live in. The house-builders would be able to build other new and better houses as bricks, wood, and other materials would be free. There need be no slums—nor palaces.

Food and clothing would be free. There would be no starvation then. There would be no hoarding of food, and no "cornering" it, because as everybody could have food for the asking no one could sell it. There would be no buyers—and anyway there would be no money.

There would be plenty of work. There are about 40,000,000 people in the British Isles, and these would all want a sufficiency of food, and clothing, and boots, and decent houses.

It will be said, of course, that if one could obtain food and clothes for nothing, no one would work. But it is quite plain that if no one worked, there would be nothing at all. And anyway is it in human nature to shirk work? It is only so when one is working for another man's benefit. Even workers who are not Socialists seem to be aware that in doing work nowadays they are making profits and a private fortune for another man. But you will find a man working ten times as hard and twice as long in his own back garden for his own benefit.

These things are obvious. Why not adopt them? It is not a question of finding out *how* to go about it, for the workers of Russia have now pointed the way. It is true they are apparently slow about it; but what man can look after his own business if there are armed men letting their guns off behind his back? You cannot plant cabbages in comfort if you have to keep firing now and again at some of your old allies who think it their duty to "intervene."

All the queens in the world will not save the people. The Monday after Queen Mary's visit to Brady Street the landlord still sent his man round for the rent.

THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND.

WARSAW, *January 30th*, 1909.

When Paderewski arrived in Poland the hopes of all opposed to the government then in power—presided over by Moracewski and composed of elements of the Left under the popular dictatorship of Pilsudski—were turned towards the famous pianist. After a triumphal journey to Posen and Cracow, Paderewski came to Warsaw, where he was welcomed by a great demonstration, and entered into negotiations with Pilsudski for the constitution of a coalition Government.

Moracewski's Government being without money, and not daring to face a difficult situation by a bold levy on the wealth of the aristocrats and bourgeoisie, to exact a forced loan from the Warsaw bankers, nor in short to solve the problem of its own existence for fear of being called "bolshevist," gloomily bowed to the inevitable and resigned through sheer lack of funds. Paderewski formed the new "ministry of affairs," which claimed to be non-political and which contained three representatives of the province of Posen (Posnania) and four ministers of the preceding Government.

The new Government began its career with vast police measures for the repression of Bolshevism. The Polish Socialists are divided into two parties: the Marxian Socialists, who are internationalists and communists, and the Polish Socialist Party which organised the Polish legions of volunteers to fight for Austria against Russia. Every inn and café in Warsaw was visited in search of Bolshevism. More than a thousand communist Socialists were arrested and interned in the fortress of Novo-Georgievsk. For several days the police had no rest; innumerable seizures were made; and in the house of one Socialist who had spent several years in Italy, the seditious pamphlets of Costa and Turati were confiscated. It goes without saying that the "dangerous man" in whose possession they were found was handed over to the police. A body of police armed with bombs and with bayonets fixed was sent to the offices of the communist newspaper, *Sztandar Socialismu* (*The Socialist Standard*) and after confiscating all the printing paper and destroying the type, they suppressed the journal *manu militare*.

And now as to the elections. At Warsaw 25 lists* were put forward, eight of them being Jewish. The communists proclaimed their abstention. At once the struggle resolved itself into one between list No. 2 of the Polish Socialist Party and list No. 10 of the nationalist alliance with Paderewski and Dmowski at its head.

The electoral struggle was a very quiet one, without any noteworthy incidents of a public character. It was a struggle in which the Church brought the whole weight of its influence to bear. I was assured that the Catholics spent over 4,000,000 marks on the campaign. In the churches indulgences were promised to those who voted for No. 10 and the pains of hell to those who voted for the Socialists. And because the Socialist *list* included the name of Perl, a Jew and director of the Socialist newspaper, *Rabotnik* (*The Worker*), the conservatives, improperly calling themselves "national democrats," let loose a raging, tearing anti-Semitic campaign in their meetings. Everywhere well-known starvers of and traitors to Poland defamed the Jews. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were everywhere distributed. One ran as follows: "If you do not want Poland to be Jewish or Socialist, if you wish her to be the ally of the Entente, vote for list No. 10!" Another illustrated leaflet represented a serpent, with a Jew's head, threatening the back of a workman. Others villified the Jews and prophesied the Bolshevist menace, in the event of List 10 not being successful.

On the eve of the election the nationalities stuck up a poster in which this sentence occurred: "Wilson has sent a telegram saying that he looks forward to the victory for list No. 10." Others said: "If you want the Entente to send food and the cost of living to decrease, vote for list No. 10." The participation of the electors, both male and female, in the voting was very considerable: in spite of the intense cold, long queues of men and women patiently waited their turn in the streets before the polling booths. In all 280,000 electors cast their votes. The list No. 10 by reason of the popularity of Paderewski, of the intense propaganda carried on by the Church and of its anti-Semitic and ententophile leanings, obtained 160,000 votes; the Polish Socialists, 42,000; and the eight Jewish lists, 72,000. There were elected 11 candidates (including one woman) of list No. 10, 2 Socialists and 2 Jews.

The Jesuits have undertaken a campaign, conducted with a certain amount of caution for the present, in favour of a monarchic régime. A Catholic newspaper has already suggested a "popular monarchy." The conservatives do not hide their sympathy towards a monarchy, but they fear that in the present political atmosphere it would be premature to set it up, because it would threaten to unchain rebellions in the parties of the Left. Many conservatives think that it will be necessary before reaching the monarchy to go through a republican phase. The deputy Zamorski who, during the war, lived in Italy, but is now in Poland, told me "The republic will last five or six years at the most, and then in all probability we shall have the monarchy."

As you see, then, the Polish State, built up in contradictions has not yet traversed the crisis of its formation and systematisation. The internal situation is still uncertain; by the side of conservative and monarchical whims, there rises like a spectre—Bolshevism, which finds in the reactionaries the best propagandists of the poor man's revolution. The economic situation, too, is difficult enough; more than 500,000 unemployed are looking for work in vain. The conservatives are hoping that the Entente may supply arms and money to Poland, entrusting to her the mission of combating Russian Bolshevism, because by these means Poland would be able to enlarge and consolidate her Eastern frontiers, and solve by militarism and with allied gold the threatening problem of unemployment, assuring an external war, internal "peace," *i.e.*, the wealth and predominating power of the privileged classes.

LUCIANO MAGRINI.

[From the *Secolo* of February 18th.]

* *The Italian* says:—"Le liste presentate a Varsovia furono veinticinque."

'Dreadnought' Collecting Sheets on application to 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

A MESSAGE FROM HUNGARIAN SOCIALISTS.

The Ido Federation of the Hungarian Socialist Party has sent from Budapest in the International language, "Ido," this message from Hungarian Socialists to the workers of the world :—

The Hungarian Workers' Congress calls to the workers of the world, begging them not to allow the Hungarian people's Republic and the newly-won liberties gained by the Hungarian workers to be destroyed by the Allied occupation. We are sending delegates to all parts of the world to inform the workers of the dangers which are threatening Hungarian democracy and Socialism, and to appeal to the workers of the world for help.

What is happening in Hungary at this moment ? The Revolution, with hardly any bloodshed, overthrew an old degenerate tyranny and the Hungarian republic was born. The people's Republic rapidly cleared away all remnants of feudalism, established complete democracy and an enlarged possibility of Socialism.

When the Entente Powers were still fighting, before they had achieved victory, they inscribed upon their banner : Liberty for the small nationalities and the security of democracy. The Entente powers won, but their incoming troops did not bring liberty : the people's Republic of Hungary had already created liberty here. The Entente which promised to free the world from the yoke of German absolutism has subjected Hungary to the backward and greedy imperialism of Roumania, Serbia and the Czecho-Slovacs. These Empires belong to an inferior stage of development to that of Hungarian democracy.

The people's Republic secured liberty of association, assembly, and the Press. The Entente army of occupation has established a press censorship and denied the freedom of association and assembly. The people's Republic declared for Socialism and the rights of Labour. The Army of Occupation killed the young germ of our Socialist State, trampled upon our educational organisations and, instead of freeing Labour, created a new slavery.

The occupation of Hungary not only means the suppression of all popular rights and the strangling of the growing Labour movement : it means also the stoppage of work. Where there is no coal there can be no work. The Army of Occupation appears to have taken seriously the ironical saying of General Franchet d'Eperéray : "If our steam-mills cannot turn we will work with windmills."

The lack of coal means the destruction of our industries, and trade bankruptcy, the destruction of our villages, the starvation of our towns. All this befalls us because the aristocratic tyrants of the monarchy made war on the Entente. This war the class-conscious workers of Hungary detest from the bottom of their hearts. This war we fought bitterly to the last instant and could only be forced to take part in it by the tyrants of the monarchy, threatened though we were by other nations. The Cabinet of the monarchy urged the Hungarian working class to fight by terrorising them with the menace of the very Powers which now reign in Hungary as conquerors, destroying the first fruits of the Revolution. Will the world proletariat, the organised working class of England and the workers of Italy look quietly on whilst the occupation on the pretext of restoring order strengthens the counter-revolution.

We do not whine "territorial integrity," we demand the integrity of the democracy. We demand the triumph of right over all kinds of violence, not the triumph of violence over the people's rights.

The counter-revolutionary elements, which were overthrown in Hungary, are again active. The reactionary Press attacks the national policy of the people's government. It not only opposes the right of self-determination, but it is furious because the Hungarian population living in Hungary receives autonomy. Do the gentlemen of the reactionary Press believe it possible to maintain the domination of the non-Hungarians over the Hungarian people which obtained in the past. ?

The Hungarian counter-revolutionary leaders know the continued foreign domination to be impossible, and that by advocating it they are injuring the Hungarian cause and acting as traitors to their country, but they agitate against the national policy of the Government. Why do they engage in this treason ? Because they hope thereby to save their own dying domination over the workers. They hope to excite Chauvinist passion and by its means to suffocate the strongly developed Socialist movement.

But the Hungarian Socialist movement cannot be conquered by such methods, for Socialism alone represents social progress here. Only by Socialism, only by the mutual understanding of the peoples, only by the support of the international proletariat is it possible for concord and fruitful labour to be maintained here ; instead of racial war and national quarrels.

The Hungarian people realise that unless they wish to continue the world-war they must live peaceably with the nations around them. And the other peoples of Europe must realise that if they do not wish Hungary to become the incendiary nest of Europe, if they do not wish the storm clouds of war to menace the general peace, they must not support aggressive and blind nationalism but must protect the democracy of Hungary against them. They must support the right of self-determination for the people. The nations of Hungary cannot live peacefully under autocracy and oppression, but only in complete liberty and democracy.

THE SOLDIER and THE WAR.

The following passages comprise one of six fragments appearing in the "Dreadnought" from a novel by Dudley Howard Tripp, a young soldier who enlisted early in the war and here records his impressions.

V.

....There is only one crime that we cannot forgive, and of which we ourselves have been guilty. The crime of narrow patriotism ; the crime of not having insisted on open diplomacy and full, unvarnished facts ; the crime of not extending to international relations, international disputes, the same procedure, the same judicial system of prosecution and defence as we enjoy in the courts of common law. There is the world-crime of infinite folly, infinite ignorance, infinite tragedy....

It was towards the end of 1915 that I began to see that ; it was then that I began to think and wonder. I had been a year in the trenches. I said to myself one day, looking at a shivering, uncomplaining man upon the bitter parapet : "He did not make war." It was an astounding thought ; it burnt into my brain with sudden, penetrating fire. It took me from him to the Kaiser, from the Kaiser to his Generals of armies, and his Chancellors, and from those great men to the simple, suffering, grey-coated guard in the lines opposite our own.

I pictured him then as ignorant, as helpless, as uncomfortable, as heroically uncomplaining as the khaki-clad figure a yard away from me. I could see him drawing his coat-collar round his ears as the rain lashed him, hear him muttering doggedly to himself : "It must be seen through ; I must 'stick' it ; it is just."

I put them side by side—grey and khaki—the rain glistening on their sodden great coats, streaming from their caps, marked their numbed hands, broken nails, red-encircled eyes ; listened, even, to their terrible laughter.

Then I said : "Naked men, both of you, when you came into the world ! To-day, if I sent you forth in your multitudes, silent and uncomplaining, stripped of your uniforms, and bade you fight, how would you say, either of you : '*This* is my enemy ; him will I kill !'"

It is not in your ranks that the enemy is to be found ; it is not in your home that the spirit of hatred and revenge makes its bed. Uniform is thrust upon you, and made a symbol of racial enmity ; nationality is impressed upon you, and made a synonym for false pride. You have not been taught ; you have not understood that all war is *civil* war, that all men bleed red no matter what colour be their skin or their hair, that the brotherhood of man—Internationalism—is the truth of Christ, the very key to the citizenship of the world.

....So I looked deeper, and the deeper I looked the more terror-stricken I became. For I saw that, somehow, millions of every land were bound by the thread of an idea to the will—if necessary to the evil will—of a few. I saw that they were emerging half blinded from holes in the ground, from darkness and ignorance, helpless as yet in the growing light, and flung hither and thither in their blindness by those accustomed to command. I saw the chains of economic serfdom, the lack of education, the absence of the critical faculty that made them easy slaves to an unrelenting wheel. I understood, or began to understand, how their ideas and ideals were shaped for them by those whom, unreasoningly, they had learned to obey ; how the Press ceaselessly hammered partisan creeds into their indiscriminating ears ; how a half-truth for lack of its balancing moiety became to them a convincing whole ; how their lack of individuality had made them dependent on the care-free agent of mighty class and financial interests.

....And then I looked for light. For a long while I saw none. For many days in this first groping of mine I beat against dark encircling walls. So many things were hidden from me, so many books and ideas shut away from those blood-stained lines. Thought, dimly stirring, became agony as it moved like a child in some confined womb. Then....then, Noël was killed.

With the death of a real pal something dies, but something newer and deeper is born. We had been pals for a long time, had suffered and wept, laughed and sworn together. We had broken a last crust evenly, and licked at a tablespoonful of water. We had buried men—even our intimate pals—together. I understood, for the first time, what the love of a chum meant ; the good, clean, honest open love of man for man....I saw him die. I had not thought before that he could die....

Peters voice shook a little.

He did die, for he took the last spark of credulity from me. He died ; ah ! don't forget this, without having touched the fingers of the thought that was awakening in me. He died, having missed, missing something. There had been no questions on his lips. His grave faced many a silent German grave—in silence. He did not ask why men should die as he died—in agony, choking with black, bitter blood, and silent, save for their moans. But he made me see that the living alone can talk, that the living alone have the key of thought, the key of action, even though they must pluck it from the grave.

Do you see what I mean ? The chain of thought is easy and swift. When you *know*, when you *feel* that a dead German is on common ground with a dead Britisher, or a dead Frenchman ; when you comprehend that their death is similar, the stopping merely of a heart-beat, you begin to understand the significance, the similarity of their life. Death broadens the issues you have to face, lines in and then erases your class distinctions, gives you perspective. The common bed of humanity, generally speaking, is the same ; you realize that whether you look at it from the altar or the ale house, or the city slum and the warehouse, or the green open fields of God.

DUDLEY HOWARD-TRIPP.

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THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

The Hungarian Workers' Revolution at last has answered the call of Soviet Russia. In Budapest, the beautiful city where East meets West, the great hall of the Vigado will become the scene of many a wonderful meeting, and great doings will be witnessed from the windows of that suite of rooms occupied by the Women Clerks' Trade Union, which overlooks the Vigado Square, the Corso, and the Danube.

Political propaganda held an important place in Budapest before the war. The offices of progressive organisations were not, as so often here, hidden away in back streets, but prominently situated. The Women's Movement was in many ways the healthiest and most active in Europe. Four thousand of the 6,000 women clerks were organised in 1914, and their union had its own library, employment bureau, and legal adviser. It worked actively to influence legislation in the interests of its members and to secure wider educational opportunities for women. It was the first organisation to ask for Votes for Women. Did it discover presently the futility of Parliamentary Government? Did it throw itself actively into the work of establishing the Soviets? The Women Clerks' Union and the Social Democrats were just before the war organising the shop assistants. The Women's Suffrage Movement was the most vigorous on the Continent and was more democratic, more friendly towards the Socialists, than in most other Continental countries. Miss Pogany, who was active in it, is sister to Willy Pogany, the Socialist artist then well known in London, and, we think, also to Joseph Pogany, the President of the Soldiers' Council, who is now Soviet Minister of War. The Suffragists occupied splendid offices in the same building as the great newspaper *Pesti Lloyd*. Their activities were filmed by the cinema shows. Their paper ANö, the woman, was sold on the Corso. Will it presently be said that Hungary with this advanced Woman's Movement has nationalised her women? The Pacifist Movement was also strong in Hungary. Rosika Schwimmer, a foremost Suffrage leader, joined the Women's International Peace Movement, attended the Women's Conference at the Hague, and with Jane Addams and others toured the world, visiting the neutral and belligerent governments in the interests of peace. She received widespread support and was greeted on her return by great and enthusiastic popular demonstrations. War fever evidently took no strong hold in Hungary. In 1915 the English residents in Budapest made a collection in aid of the Hungarian Red Cross in recognition of the kindness shown to them. The French colony petitioned the French Government asking that Hungarians in France should be treated as well as the Hungarians were treating them. Active reformers had secured for Hungary the best child welfare system in the world. National sick insurance had been established in 1907. Rural home industries were subsidised by the State and minimum wages fixed by the State for such industries. Wages Boards were set up for home industries. Municipal housing in the form of great suburban colonies was carried out on a more extensive and efficient scale than anything attempted in this country.

These reforms but slightly palliated appalling conditions. Nowhere could one see a more striking contrast between the workers and the bourgeoisie. The former worn and often refined by hard toil, the latter fleshy and luxurious. Rents were high; wages low. Women clerks, in spite of their union, could be had for £2 10*s*. a month; domestic servants got 16*s*. to 25*s*. a month. Men and women were building the houses together; the women serving as labourers to the men got 1*s*. 8*d*. to 2*s*. 1*d*. a day; the men 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 4*d*. per day. Carpenters' wages were similar. Market riots by the women and rent strikes were common even before the war. Poverty drove even children into prostitution. Vice was regulated by the State and in the Budapest Prison we saw numbers of little girls in their early teens who had been sentenced for plying the trade of prostitution without first being registered by the police. There were no women officials in the prison; the men warders wore swords. Four or five girls were kept in the same small cell. Some of these poor children, dying of venereal disease, bare-footed and clad in filthy rags, with matted hair over their eyes, seemed to have become sub-human. The franchise even for men was very narrow.

Agriculture is the main industry of Hungary; it is said that the land, next to that of Colorado, is the richest in the world. Almost every inch of the vast plains appears to be cultivated. One sees no hedgerows; the furrows come down to the edge of the narrow roads. Peasant women, minute in the vast landscape, are at work in the fields. Sometimes a long train of carts drawn by oxen or horses and laden with brushwood passes slowly. Everywhere is great evidence of labour. Occasionally the wide stretches of arable land are broken by wooded knolls, where wonderful y large and numerous stacks of faggots are ready for collection. A long line of giant supports with connecting wires carries water from the Danube to distant fields. The houses of the peasants are small and mean. Until yesterday these rich lands, so splendidly cultivated by the patient hands of innumerable workers, were concentrated in the possession of a few rich individuals, but now the Revolution has come.

In 1914, going by chance and on a sudden impulse into a Budapest elementary school, we saw in the headmaster's room the statuette of a big man in working clothes; his massive head was bowed despairingly, his clenched hands, in one of which was a weapon, hung still more despairing at his side. We asked the schoolmaster the meaning of this figure. He said that it represented the peasants, who, after the revolution of 1849, had been forced to lay down their arms. The schoolmaster's grandfather had been the model for the figure. "I am a revolutionary like you," he said. "I would fight for freedom if I could." Neither we nor our unknown comrade realised that in less than five years he would have his chance.

The letter from Hungarian Socialists, which we publish on another page, tells us how events have moved in Hungary since the first revolution, which substituted Count Karolyi for Count Tisza as head of the Government, and set up a bourgeois reformist anti-war government. The imperialist Czechs, Roumanians, and Serbs secured the revision of the armistice concluded at Belgrade on November 8th, 1918, between Karolyi and General Franchet d'Espérey on behalf of the Allies. The new terms involved territorial encroachments, causing Hungarians, who had secured a wide measure of political freedom by their revolution, to be forced under the control of these small and backward autocracies. They also deprived Hungary of supplies stored in these territories. The Allied occupation of Hungary opposed all freedom. A *Times'* correspondent, writing recently, said that the country was on the verge of starvation, coal was unobtainable, and in all the large factories the workmen had "turned out the directors and appropriated everything to themselves," there was "no army to speak of," and the police "were not to be trusted." (That is, of course, from the standpoint of the possessing classes.) Karolyi seems to have tried to make friends with the Allies; but the Council of Ten in Paris would not relax their extortionate grip, in spite of the fact that their oppressive treatment of Hungary was bringing the workers to that point of desperation at which they would risk all and plunge into a second revolution to establish a proletarian government. That so-called Peace Council has recently presented to Hungary a demand that a neutral zone be set up between the Hungarians and Roumanians, which would lop off another large piece of Hungary, including the towns of Szegedon, Arad, Grosswardein, and Delreczin. Civil government in this neutral zone would be "exercised by the Hungarians *under Allied control*."

The Karolyi Government replied that the new demands were contrary to the armistice and Military Convention of November 13th, and that the Government was "not in a position to recognise the decision of the Peace Conference and to assist in carrying it through," because it was not invited to the Peace Conference; therefore its only alternative was resignation. Perhaps the reply may have meant: if you had helped us we would have held on; as it is, we wash our hands of the business and leave you to deal with the Workers' Revolution which is about to overcome us. Be that as it may, Count Karolyi published simultaneously a proclamation to the people, in which he declared that the Allies intend to use Hungary as a base of operations against Soviet Russia. He concluded:—

"I, as provisional President of the Hungarian Republic, turn from the Paris Peace Conference to the proletariat of the world for justice and support. I resign, and hand over power to the proletariat of the Hungarian peoples."

Karolyi has resigned, as the Kaiser and Prince Max of Bavaria resigned, nominating, as they did, the power that is to succeed him. But Karolyi has not, like those others, chosen to be replaced by men whom he thinks able to stave off the dictatorship of the workers: he has handed the government to that dictatorship. If the news is authentic and Karolyi has acted in good faith, he has done a very wise and courageous thing.

The Budapest Workers' Council hastily formed a Ministry with the following members: President, Alexander Garbai; Home Office, Eugene Landler; Treasury, Eugen Baga; Education, Siegmund Kunfy; Foreign Office, Bela Kun; War Office, Joseph Pogany. Kun was recently imprisoned and injured in a fight between the police and the communists. Pogany, the President of the Soldiers' Council, is called by *The Times* "the strongest man in Hungary." He recently said:—

"The political revolution, although apparently at an end, is in reality only beginning, and will be succeeded by a social revolution, which will only end when we have completely crushed the old system. There is a revolutionary Government, but it has not power over the country. The question is whether the Government is willing to carry through quickly the revolutionary transformation. We gave them a limited time to demolish the old system and the sources of its power. If they want to be masters they must crush the present land-owners, capitalists and clergy. Not the small landowners but the farm labourers must carry out the land reform. In the development of Socialism they can proceed step by step, but the question of power must be settled now."

This seems to prove that Pogany, at least, adopts the Bolshevik standpoint.

This Government, formed from a coalition of the Social Democrats and Communists, evidently regards itself as merely provisional, for it says that Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Councils are to be established and to wield supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power. It declares for a dictatorship of the proletariat the socialisation of mines, industries, and banks, and the land.

"Land reform is to be carried through, not by land partition, but by way of Socialistic production and trade unions," so runs *The Times'* telegram, which means that the land is to be worked co-operatively, presumably by organisa-

(Continued on page 1275).

VIEWS ON THE BERNE CONFERENCE BY INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS.

LOUISE MÜNCH.

"The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing."

"It is all very well for the Berne Conference to deceive itself by discussing questions of responsibility and territory. There is only one question: the Revolution. Whether one wants it or not, one has to be either for it, with the Bolsheviki and the Spartacists, or against it, with the capitalist bourgeoisie. The intermediate position taken up by the Berne Conference only aims at evading the responsibility of making a plain answer. The proletariat must force the sycophants of Socialism, the masqued opponents of the Revolution, the weak and the hesitating, to proclaim themselves. By their class action, the workers must recall to those who pretended to speak in their name at Berne the fact that "The working-class is revolutionary or it is nothing."

F. LORIOT

(*of the Left wing of the French Socialist Party.*)

OUR GOAL A SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF PEOPLES.

"The revolutionary Socialist youth of Europe must band itself together in a decisive resolute fight. Bourgeois reforms will not serve us. Our goal is the creation of a European *Socialist* League of *Peoples*. We wish to be no longer simply material in the hands of generals and capitalists; we wish to live, to live for Socialism, which for us means as much a new society, a new, clear intercourse between man and man, people and people, as it does an economic transformation. We wish to live in order to fight for the spirit of love and humanity." ERNEST TOLLER

(*Member of the Executive of the Bavarian Workers' and Soldiers' Council.*)

WE WISH TO REPLACE CAPITALISM BY COMMUNISM.

"'The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing.' This Conference was called by the governments of the capitalistic world, in order to put the Revolution to flight. The revolutionary proletariat did not attend the Conference; Branting, Thomas and Ebert celebrated their triumphs there. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world must advance along revolutionary lines. Conquest of political power! Dictatorship of the proletariat! The arming of the working class! The disarming and removal of the bourgeoisie! Mass action! These are, and remain, our watchwords. We do not put our trust in Wilson, but in the *class struggle*. We do not ask that beast capitalism to be just, that would be Utopian. We wish to replace Capitalism by Communism. Workers of all lands unite!" VALERIN MARCU

(*Delegate of the Roumanian Socialist Party*).

A MEANINGLESS CONFERENCE.

"International Conferences have significance only when they express the fighting spirit of the proletariat in individual countries, and when they induce results from this spirit. The Berne Conference was satisfied with resolutions and programmes, it was afraid to sound a call to arms. Therefore, in this epoch-making hour it was meaningless and without influence." GRIMM

(*Swiss Socialist Deputy and former Editor of the 'Berner Tagwacht,' the Berne Socialist daily*).

A RUTHLESS CLASS STRUGGLE IS NEEDED.

"This Conference at Berne has something international, but not an atom of Socialism about it. It is the servant of the bourgeois governments and belongs to them completely. Whilst excusing and absorbing the renegades, it is destined to sanction the ulterior revolutionary work." A BULGARIAN SOCIALIST.

"What has the International Socialist Conference at Berne done for women? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Not a single question was dealt with to advance our position. No advance was possible at this gathering, because the Conference consisted of people who no longer take their stand on the international class struggle. These people are against us and must be against us because of their standpoint. Therefore it must now be our task to call an International Women's Conference, a conference of comrades who adhere to the revolutionary class struggle and who are determined that the proletariat shall not be led to the slaughter a second time. Not only the women of the belligerent countries, but also those of the neutral states, have suffered so greatly under this mass murder, that they must use every effort to prevent its repetition. This can be accomplished only by the most ruthless class-war against the bourgeoisie of each individual so-called fatherland. LOUISE MÜNCH, Berne

(*Wife of the Secretary of the Berne Socialist Party, well-known as a Socialist and feminist*).

CAN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL BE RESUSCITATED?

"The Berne Conference could not be and was no more than a mutual exchange of ideas. Therein lay its interest. The fact that the representatives of so-called enemy countries met together—even before peace was signed—is of great importance. This meeting, beyond its symbolical value, contributes to the re-grouping of all the working-class forces of the world.

The Second International, despite its failings, may live again. The Berne Conference has proved it. Nevertheless two conditions are necessary. On the one hand, it must conform to the principles adopted unanimously at the Amsterdam Congress; on the other hand, it must get rid, in all countries, of its false elements. If these two conditions were not fulfilled a third International is absolutely necessary."

RAOUL VERFEINT

(*Delegate from the French Socialist Party*).

Berne, February 9th, 1919.

NOT AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS, BUT A CONGRESS OF NATIONALITIES

"1. This was not an internationalist Socialist Congress but, by the force of circumstances, and by the faults and failings of the Second International, it was only a rump congress. The revolutionary international sections were lacking there—Switzerland, Italy, and above all Bolshevik Russia, which is at the head of a formidable Socialist revolution without precedent in history.

"2. It was an ice-breaker, the object of which was to unite in the same hall enemy brothers—the jingo Socialist majority groups—of the different countries. It was a step forward in comparison with the state of war; it united, for instance, French patriotic Socialists and German patriotic Socialists; it was the first time they had met each other with resolutions, instead of with hand grenades and cannon.

"The majority Socialists of all countries have agreed to put nationalism above the International. And the Congress did not alter this state of mind.

"4. It was not an international Socialist congress, but a congress of nationalities, a great non-Jewish Bund. (The Bund is an organisation of Jewish workers, half nationalist, half internationalist.)

"5. There were some fine internationalists at the Congress, but they allowed themselves to be effaced by the others.

"6. A genuine International Socialist Congress should place in the dock all forms of nationalisms beginning with Socialist nationalism; which is the death of the International.

"7. A genuine International Socialist Congress should place in the dock the capitalist régime, which called up the war-world and should lead to the Socialist or Communist revolution.

"8. With certain reserves such a conference should unite itself with the Russian and German Revolution.

"9. It ought to prepare the programme of the coming Socialist revolution.

"10. The Berne Congress was the first at which Marx was absent with his watchword: 'Workers of the world unite.' None dared say: 'Wilsonians of the world unite'!!! But that may yet happen, for Marx is henceforward replaced by Wilson!

"In short the Second International is dead. We must have a Third International of a Socialist revolutionary communistic character."

CHARLES RAPPOPORT.

W. F. WATSON SENTENCED.

At Bow Street on Saturday, March 22nd, W. F. Watson was sentenced to six months in the second division for a "seditious" speech made at the "Hands Off Russia" Meeting on February 8th at the Albert Hall. Substantial evidence was given by numerous witnesses, which should have proved that Watson was "not guilty" had the magistrate been inclined to alter the sentence. But this it seemed evident to the writer and others was prearranged.

Watson defended himself, and made a fine speech, both in his own defence and that of the cause which he had supported, and would support whether in gaol or out of gaol.

He based his defence on the following points: (*a*) Arrest under Section 55 of D.O.R.A. was illegal without a warrant, since such a long period of time had elapsed between the "crime" and the arrest; (*b*) a charge under Section 42 of D.O.R.A. was inadmissable, seeing that we are now prosecuting peace not war, though perhaps technically we are still at war; (*c*) the legitimate object of trade unionism has always been to seize on existing unrest, as he had advocated in his Albert Hall speech—George Lansbury testified to the correctness of this interpretation of trade unionism, and ridiculed the action of the authorities in arresting Watson; (*d*) assuming that the said speech was "seditious," since it spoke to the spirit of the resolution, all the other speakers and those who voted for the resolution should all be put in the dock.

As an absurd sentence appeared in the official transcript, an error made by both police reporters, Watson alleged that there was collusion. Shorthand experts gave testimony that the error could hardly be made by two people without collusion. Luckily a friend had taken down Watson's speech at the Albert Hall, and her notes were conclusive evidence that Watson had *not* made the error which both the official reporters ascribed to him!

Watson in the course of his speech gave Sir John Dickinson and the court an insight into the lives of men of his class. His words should have made the minions of the law uncomfortable, and had the general public been present in the court much good propaganda might have been effected.

On hearing his sentence, Watson asked quietly if he would be allowed second division and the right to appeal. Sir J. Dickinson granted both requests. If any more trials on these lines should follow it is to be hoped that the victims will show the same dauntless, fearless and determined spirit that Watson displayed. "An injury to one is an injury to all," Watson said. We hope that all Socialists will feel this in both the Watson and Ramsay cases, and leave nothing undone to restore them to their public activities, where they are now so sorely needed. Meanwhile the place of every fighter thus removed will be more than filled twice over. Unjust imprisonments made Sinn Fein what it is to-day!

M. O'C.

LONDON & DISTRICT WORKERS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

David Ramsay had five months' imprisonment, now W. F. Watson is sentenced to six months. Those who are dependent, must not be allowed to suffer. Donations should be sent to the secretary, *pro tem.*, Mrs. Holloway, 7, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, London, W.C.

THE BUMBLES OF BETHNAL GREEN.

A woman, her eyes red with crying, distracted by grief and anxiety—she is the worst of all criminals, a poor widow. For this she must suffer the punishment of being parted from her children.

For eleven years she lived in the terrible Borough of Bethnal Green—terrible by reason of its prevailing poverty and the fact that the destinies of its poor people are in the hands of a Board of ruthless, cold-hearted people, neglectful starvers of poor old people. The Poor Law Guardians of Bethnal Green make a practice of refusing Out Relief. Their rule amounts to an offer to the destitute of a term of imprisonment in the workhouse, its infirmary, or the Poor Law schools.

Three years ago this woman who is so miserable left the terrible Borough, and moved to Poplar, but Bethnal Green still holds her fate in its clutches. The Law of Settlement, dating from the Act of 1832, provides that to acquire a settlement in any parish three years residence is necessary, and during that three years there must be no assistance from the Poor Law.

This unfortunate woman had a delicate little boy, who fell ill, and as there was nowhere else available, he had to go to the Poplar Sick Asylum. Therefore the three years was "broken by relief." Moreover, the husband suffered from phthisis. He, too, had to go to the Poplar Sick Asylum for six weeks, and during that six weeks the Poplar Guardians allowed the family 22*s*. a week. Perhaps they forgot to inquire how long these people had lived in Poplar. At the end of six weeks the Guardians transferred the husband to the Bethnal Green Infirmary; he did not stay there, but took his discharge within an hour. Being still too ill to work he asked for relief for the family. The Guardians refused, saying that he might bring his family to the workhouse. The Guardians cannot refuse to relieve the destitute; but, if they choose, they may offer by way of relief only the workhouse.

In January, 1918, the husband died, and the woman was left with four little children. An Act of 1846 makes it impossible for the Guardians to remove a widow from their parish for twelve months after her husband's death. Therefore the Poplar Guardians paid the widow and her children £1 a week, and she earned on her own account an average wage of £1 a week by making boxes for a neighbouring factory. In September, 1918, her eldest girl became 14 and went to work, earning 12*s*. a week, and shortly afterwards the Guardians reduced the mother's relief to 14*s*. a week. The family income was therefore £2 6*s*.

In January, 1918, the year of respite since the husband's death having expired, the Poplar Guardians communicated with the Bethnal Green Guardians to say that this woman and her little family had now become chargeable to the terrible Borough. The Bethnal Green Guardians payed that extravagant 14*s*. a week, which just enabled the woman to stretch out her little income to cover each week's expenditure. The Relieving Officer warned her that her situation was precarious. He told her that there were hundreds of widows in Bethnal Green, but not to one of them would the Guardians give out relief. In a few days she was summoned before the terrible Board of Guardians. It was a full Board Meeting. "A lady," Miss James, the only woman Guardian, was in the chair. (And are you able to sleep and pass your days in comfort, Miss James, after what happened next?)

"Our relief to you," the Guardians announced to the mother, "is to take two of your children." "I don't want to part with my children," the mother protested. "It would break up my home—well, my feelings. In a few years my boy will be able to leave school, then he will help me; and my girl will be earning more. Only give me a little relief, just for a few years more." But the Guardians said the matter was decided and that they would take the two boys. "Not the little one," said the mother, "he is delicate. He will fret for me." But the matter was decided. Yes, it was decided, poor woman, even before your children were born, for the Guardians of the terrible Borough will not grant Out Relief.

The Guardians talked amongst themselves. The mother thought they were saying that she might keep the little boy and that they would take the elder boy and the second girl. They told her to bring the children round to the workhouse as soon as she had made up her mind when to part with them.

The mother went home determined that, as she must, she would somehow manage without the 14*s*. and that she would not allow her children to be taken from her. But work was slack at the box-making and the children were hungry. "What must I do?" she asked herself. "If they would be well cared for by others have I a right to keep them here to starve with me?"

She went to the Relieving Officer, begging him to get back the 14*s*. relief for her. He explained that he was powerless and said that if she would get her children ready he would send the Poor Law conveyance to fetch them on Saturday, March 15th.

Torn with grief, the mother prepared herself to part with her boy and girl, but when the conveyance arrived the woman officer presented a form containing the two boys. The mother thought there must be some mistake, as she had said that in any event she would not part with the youngest. She took the three younger children to the workhouse, thinking to get the form altered, and the three little ones were clinging to her, pleading with every gesture not to be sent away. The workhouse officials insisted that the Guardians had chosen the two boys and that the two boys must go; and they coaxed the mother by telling her that this would be best, because the boys would remain together at the schools, whilst a boy and girl would be separated. She charged her 12-year-old son Ernest to take care of his younger brother Eddie and to write at once to tell her if he seemed to be fretting. Then, stunned with grief, she left them.

The two unhappy little lads were soon afterwards taken in the tram to the Poor Law schools at Leytonstone. The official who took them asked the attendant who received them to try to find them some dinner, and presently she brought them some bread and butter and left them alone in the receiving room. At five bread and butter and milk were given to them, and at 5.30 they were told to go to bed. Eddie was crying for his mother, and the elder brother first pulled his bed up close to him and then got in beside him and held him close, but the little one cried all night and the elder boy cried with him, and, rendered ill by his distress, suffered with diarrhœa.

On Sunday the children were still left alone. They were too miserable to eat their dinner.

Quite casually the boys were told that next week they were to be parted. Eddie was told he must learn not to cry as he would be away from his big brother next week. "What would mother say to that? She told me to take care of him," Ernest thought, and made up his mind to rebel. He searched around and found a way out at the back, and a wall that was not too high for him to lift Eddie over.

Ernest's clothes had been taken from him. He had been given a pair of knickers with elastic at the knee, that he thought had been made for a girl, and a short Norfolk jacket. Eddie was not warmly clad, but Ernest found his overcoat and then they were soon over the wall.

Boys in the streets called after Ernest: "Where did you get those trousers?" and he was afraid that they would recognise them and send them back to the schools, but, asking the way, they at last got home to Old Ford where they live.

At half-past four that afternoon a neighbour, who knows Ernest as a bright little chap in the Scouts Corps and the church choir, found him leaning against his mother's door, his arm across his face, with Eddie clinging to him. She pushed open the door and took them in. The mother was sitting desolate after two sleepless nights and days of unhappiness.

"Don't turn us out again, mother; we'll eat dry bread if you'll only let us stay," the boys pleaded. "He was cry, cry, crying for you all night long, mother, and he looked so ill I could not let him stay," Ernest said. "And Eddie was ill. He has suffered from diarrhœa and sickness." Throughout the week the mother had made up her mind never to part again with any of her children, but she was afraid that at any moment a policeman might come to claim them. She did not know what legal rights over her children the Guardians might have acquired.

The authorities made no inquiries. On Monday afternoon the mother went to the Leytonstone schools to return the school clothing, which the boys had brought home with them.

The matron said: "Have you got the boys then? Why did you not bring them back?"

"Why did you not tell me that my children were lost?" the mother answered. "What did you do to find them? Suppose they had lost their way in the forest?" The officer tossed her head. "We telephoned to Bethnal Green; it was their business to find them," she answered.

The Bethnal Green authorities had not communicated with the mother up to March 22nd.

We notice that the ladies of the National Union for Equal Citizenship are worrying themselves about women being "pauperised" by having to receive Poor Law Relief; we are even more concerned for the women whom the Guardians refuse to pauperise.

The Bumbles of Bethnal Green are revealing in vivid, melodramatic form the evils of the present system. Here's to the Revolution!

OUR APPEAL.

COMRADES! Why continue to smoke *inferior* capitalist and privately owned Cigarettes when you can obtain a superior smoke made by experts with a life-long experience of the trade? Why not give a "leg-up" to your own movement by supporting Trade Union enterprise and working-class initiative? Be Loyal to Class and True to Principle. Smoke

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N.B.—All Labour and Socialist Clubs should send for particulars and terms by which they can help our factory and their club.

London Indian Association.

Lokmanya B. G. Tilak.

An Indian Home Rule Leader will speak in **ESSEX HALL**, Essex Street, Strand, W.C., on **MONDAY**, the 7th of **APRIL, 1919**, at 7 P.M., on **Present Situation in India**. Other speakers include Mr. George Lansbury, Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., and Dr. V. H. Rutherford. Admission free. Reserved seats at 1*s*. each.—Apply R. K. L. Nandkeolyar, 12 Alfred Road, Acton, W.3.

THE COAL CRISIS.

Continued from front page.

owes to those who were prepared to sacrifice their lives in defence of their king and country.

2. That this meeting of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers reiterates its allegiance to the Crown and expresses its readiness to return to the Colours in the event of Germany resuming hostilities.

We, however, view with alarm the possibility of the Government recalling Class Z Army Reserve men to the Colours to protect the interest and property of Capitalists, and in the event of a strike in the coalfield, we hereby pledge our support to the Trade Unions concerned if called upon."

Lo! the patriotism of class is here shown in its conflict with the "patriotism" which is manufactured to protect the capitalist and his interest. When their working-class instinct and love of fair play brings them in conflict with the capitalist what happens? The returned heroes who fought and bled for "their" country, for its "freedom," its "justice," and its "democracy," cannot get a corner in the Capitalist Press to voice their opinion.

THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

(Continued from page 1274.)

tions of the land workers. Hungary, a stage further advanced than Russia in the capitalistic system, is mainly peopled by a peasantry which lost its land long ago. Russia, whilst it too had great estate owners, had also millions of peasant cultivators. Their grievous lack of agricultural implements and shortage of stock, Soviet Russia has not been able to supply, owing to the vast numbers to be dealt with and the war and the blockade. Hungary, in spite of war conditions, is, in this respect, more fortunately placed. Agriculture is in Hungary a great and equipped industry, only partially dislocated by war; Hungary, with its rich, well-cultivated lands, and its great dairy farms, will prove of great assistance to the Revolution, to Russia, to Germany, and to Austria also, for the Revolution in these two nations must shortly place the proletariat in power.

The best evidence that the Hungarian Revolution is genuinely Socialist, is that it declared for the Soviet form of government and has at once allied itself with Soviet Russia. At the same time, we do not know how far the Hungarian workers have developed the confidence and solidarity necessary to maintain the Soviets against all attack. If the present news be authentic, the workers have not passed the test of overthrowing the bourgeois government, but have actually had the reigns of government handed over to them. Nevertheless, the workers' revolutionary movement must have attained to a certain strength in order to induce the Karolyi Government to this step. If the Soviets take drastic Socialist action, the Hungarian capitalists, like the capitalists of Russia, will ally themselves with the foreign invaders.

The members of the Council of Ten must surely have foreseen that Soviets would be set up in Hungary, should they persist in again making it a theatre of war, in order to use it as a base of attack against Russia. Either they foresaw this, or they are the most arrant blunderers. We believe they foresaw it, but in order to attack Socialist Russia they were prepared to fight Soviet Austria also, if need be. Evidently they believe the class war is destined to be international, but believe that capitalism has a chance of winning. We do not believe that, but we urge Socialists to open their eyes to the struggle that is taking place.

The Times reports that Garbai, the new President, stated at the Workers' Council Meeting that he had been disappointed in the Entente, "which he had supposed had a love for democracy, and only when it was obvious that nothing but a dictatorship peace was to be obtained from the West, had Hungary turned to the East to obtain what the West denied." Erdelyi, the new Food Controller, is reported by *The Times* to have declared that "the Entente measures had compelled Hungary to take this step."

If these reports are correct, we hope they are not, the alliance with Soviet Russia is only a measure of expediency to some of these men, and non-Socialists are still to be found in the Hungarian administration, but once the Soviets are in working order we shall assuredly see the Mensheviki thrust into the background in Hungary, as in Russia.

A committee of five has been appointed to arrange for the election of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils. Each People's Commissary is instructed to prepare a programme for his department, and a Directory of 31 members is instructed to discuss these programmes which will, of course, eventually come before the fully constituted Soviet. A revolutionary Law Court is to be established at Budapest; the carrying of arms, except by the workers' guard, and the sale of alcohol are prohibited. Looting will be strictly repressed. The banks have been taken over by the Soviet Government, which has decided to abolish all titles of rank, to separate the Church from the State, and to abolish ecclesiastical taxes.

Allied troops, including French, British, and Czecho-Slovaks, have been disarmed by the Soviet soldiers, and the Czecho-Slovak consulate was seized without bloodshed. The Socialists of the world should rejoice indeed.

Mrs. Snowden, in the Labour Leader, wrote, concerning the Women's Congress at Berne, the other day: "It was grievous to hear that Clara Zetkin, Adelheid Popp, and Rosa Bloch are now fierce converts to Bolshevism."

Has Mrs. Snowden observed that the women whom she has mentioned together with the murdered Rosa Luxemburg, are the foremost Socialist women of Europe? Socialists, who may be passing through mental tremours on the verge of deciding whether to support revolution, should consider why it is that these four famous women should all be found on the side of the Soviets and revolution, whereas in this country but few hitherto prominent Socialists, whether men or women, have taken this stand. We think that the reason of this is partly because the Socialist Movement in this country has been very little Socialist; partly because the issues, for and against revolution, and the Soviets or Parliament, have not yet become so acute here as they are in the Continental countries, and as they will presently be in this country also. If Mrs. Snowden were in Russia, Hungary, or Germany she, too, might be a "fierce convert to Bolshevism." It requires a greater power of clear, independent, and adventurous thinking to say one is a Bolshevik in Britain to-day, than it will do when the argumentative battle of Bolshevism has been won as far as the Socialist Movement is concerned.

The establishment of the Hungarian Socialist Republic has sent an electric shock around the world. Though hesitant semi-Socialists may fail to realise its significance, the governments of the world are awaking to it. *The Times* observes, with excitement, that "Bolshevism has installed itself well to the west of the *cordon sanitaire* which the Allies have been urged to establish around Russia."

In Germany Radek, the representative of Soviet Russia who has been imprisoned there, even fettered in his cell, under conditions of mediæval cruelty, is now released, the German Government announcing that "he entered Germany in a perfectly regular manner," and there is "no reason for keeping him under arrest." This change of front is due to Hungary's alliance with Soviet Russia. The growing oppressions of the Allied Council of Ten are making the German Government realise that perhaps, after all even from the selfish standpoint, its safest and most profitable course is to join hands with Russia. Already it is rumoured that Kautsky is about to visit Moscow on the German Government's behalf, and the fact that German sailors are refusing to hand over their ships to the Allies may bring matters to a head.

Austria hesitates whether to follow Hungary's example. The German-Austrian Workmen's Council at Vienna on March 24th passed a resolution against doing so, excusing its failure by saying: "In our land there are no more supplies; we are completely the slaves of the Entente." Food supplies have begun to reach Austria; just in time, it would seem, to defer the alliance with the Soviets.

But the alliance of the peoples of the Central Empires with Socialist Russia is inevitable. It cannot be long delayed. Soviet Russia offers them freedom and friendly co-operation: Allied capitalism offers only punishment, exploitation, and economic and political slavery.

Meanwhile the Russian Soviet troops are scoring many successes, especially in South Russia, so vitally important because of its stores of coal, oil, iron, and wheat. Reports of victories and defeats contradict each other from day to day, but General Renkin's message that "No time must be lost, if Rostoff-on-Don, Novo Tcheslak, and the Donets coal region is to be saved from the Bolshevists" plainly shows the position. The Bolshevik victories in the south will mean food and warmth for the starving people of Moscow and Petrograd, supplies for the factories, and vital necessaries for the peasant cultivators.

STRIFE AT HOME.

The theatrical flights of J. H. Thomas to Paris and the absurd letter addressed to Lloyd George by Wilson, Clemenceau, and Orlando have been combined with many subtler arts to stave off the Labour unrest threatened. The trade union leaders, without waiting for a rank and file mandate, appear to have made up their minds that a compromise shall be accepted and no strike take place. Nevertheless, the Rhondda miners are on strike and no one can predict with certainty what may develop.

The miners have been offered a 7-hour day from July 16th, 1919, and a 6-hour day from July, 1921, a 46½ hour week for surface workers; 2*s.* a day increase in wages; 1*d.* a ton to be spent on housing and other amenities in mining localities; and the question of nationalisation to be reported on by May 20th.

These are poor terms; the 1*d.* a ton on coal which is to raise £1,000,000 a year reveals how poor they are, for why should only 1*d.* per ton, out of the wealth produced by the miners, be spent on the districts where the miners live? There is no guarantee that nationalisation will be granted as a result of a further inquiry, no likelihood that a capitalist Government will give the miners control.

The Miners' Executive has put forward the following further claims:—

1. That the six-hour day should be established in July, 1920 (instead of 1921), and should not be contingent on the economic condition of the industry.
2. That the seven-hour day, and ultimately the six-hour day, should apply not merely to the men under the Eight Hours Act but to all workmen in the mines.
3. That surface workers should have a 45-hour week (instead of 46½ awarded in the report).
4. That the advance in wages should be 2*s.* 6*d.* a day (instead of 2*s.*).
5. That where workmen have been paid a "bonus turn" (*i.e.*, given six days' pay for five days' work), the 2*s.* 6*d.* advance should be paid for the extra turn.

But these are trivial details. The miners' charter is dissolved in a maze of small points.

The railwaymen were again offered terms so bad that it seemed impossible they could accept them, and it appeared probable that the miners, even should they compromise on their own position to avoid a conflict, must strike work in support of striking railwaymen, because their Federation is a component part of the Triple Alliance, "the very name" of which *The Morning Post* condemns as a "threat." The Railway Executive then offered terms which were slightly less flagrant than those originally announced. The present wage and war increase is not to be reduced till December 31st, when the position will be reviewed; Sunday duty is to be paid for at time and a half; overtime between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. to be paid for as time and a half, other overtime at time and a quarter; and work not overtime between 10 P.M. and 4 A.M. to be paid for at time and a quarter; a week's holiday a year is to be given; and in every 24 hours 9 to 12 hours' rest. A Committee is to discuss setting up a Joint Committee of the two railway unions and the Railway Executive to discuss questions affecting rates of pay and conditions of service. There is no pretence that the Government is offering the railwaymen any share of control of the railways and their management.

Unless the rank and file take things into their own hands the great Triple Alliance will subside, as ignominiously as though it were a little union in a half-organised industry. Mr. Bonar Law threatened that the Government would oppose the strikers with "all the resources of the State without the smallest hesitation." And the trade union leaders spent their efforts in inducing the workers to accept a compromise, not to take up the challenge.

Beside all the wire-pulling of the last days how grandly rises the vision of the Workers' Socialist Republic in which all poverty and inequalities shall be abolished!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliaments, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.
The Square, Woolwich.—12 noon., Mrs. Walker.
SATURDAY, MARCH 29th.
Lewisham and Camberwell.—Meet at the Clock Tower, Lewisham, at 3 P.M., and at Camberwell Grove at 6.30 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss O'Neill, Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Thring, and John Blythe.
SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Club Row, Bethnal Green.—11.45 A.M., Miss O'Neill, John Blythe.
The Grove, Hammersmith.—7 P.M., Miss Birch, Mr.. Edwards. (Joint meeting with Committee for Release of C.O.s.)
SATURDAY, APRIL 5th.
Great Push in Holloway District.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.
20 Railway Street.—Speakers' Class, 8 P.M.
SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.
400 Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Alexander Gossip, 'The Real Fight for Freedom.' Chair: Mrs. Walker. Discussion.
MONDAY, MARCH 31st.
44 Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—2.30 P.M., Business meeting.
THURSDAY, APRIL 3rd.
20 Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F. Study Circle.—8 P.M., Mr. Edmunds, 'Marxian Economics.'
FRIDAY, APRIL 4th.
20 Railway Street, 8 P.M., Sylvia Pankhurst.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, APRIL 1st.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
William Morris Hall.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.
FRIDAY, MARCH 28th.
EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M.
SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., Monthly Meeting.
Kingsley Hall, Bow.—8.15 P.M., Maude Royden, 'Beauty of the World.'
FRIDAY, APRIL 4th.
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., Hands Off Russia Committee.
SUNDAY, APRIL 6th.
Victoria Park.—4 P.M., Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, John Syme, Jack Tanner, G. H. Russell, A. A. Watts.

FEDERATION NOTES.

BOW.—*Hon. Sec.:* N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E. Members' Meeting, Wednesday, April 2nd, 8 P.M. Members and friends asked to make a point of coming to Hands Off Russia Demonstration, Victoria Park, Sunday, April 6th, 4 P.M.

POPLAR.—*Hon. Sec.:* E. Lagding, 20, Railway Street. Speakers' class, Fridays, 8 P.M., beginning Friday, March 28th. Admission free. Comrades interested in forming a Cycling Club for coming season in conjunction with Poplar W.S.F. should communicate with S. R. Young, 69, Salmon Lane, Limehouse, E.14.

WHITECHAPEL.—*Hon. Sec.:* S. Valentine, C/o 400, Old Ford Road, with whom those wishing to join Whitechapel Branch should communicate.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* weekly), £3 ;. COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £1 7*s.* 5*d.*; Poplar W.S.F., 4*s.* 7*d.*

SOCIAL WORK. Miss J. T. Drewry, 5*s.*; Mrs. Minturn Scott, 2*s.* 4½*d.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Lagding (Green's Yard), 6*s.* 8*d.*

CLOTHES, &c.—Miss C. Tallard, Miss E. Limouzin.

Parliament As We See It.

March 17th.—Mr. Higham (C.U.) advised the Prime Minister to appoint a Commission to inquire into the "aims and objects of the Bolsheviks, with special regard to their treatment of women." A very good idea, no doubt, provided the Commission be impartial!

INTERVENTION.

Members complained that men who had served in Salonika and were over 40 were being sent to Russia. We complain of and protest against the sending of any troops *whatsoever* to Russia.

THOSE EGYPTIANS!

March 18th.—It seems that Egypt took the words of the Allies in reference to small nations literally, and demanded complete autonomy! But His Majesty's Government, "while sympathising with the idea of giving the Egyptians an ever-increasing share in the government of the country, they could not abandon their responsibilities for order and good government in Egypt...." As though any one could interpret the self-determination principle as applying to any *well-governed* country blessed with British protection. Oh, dear no!

BOLSHEVISM.

Colonel Wedgwood (C.L.) ventured to tell the House some of the allegations of atrocities committed by the anti-Bolsheviks. But Mr. Churchill insisted that any atrocity that did occur was the work of the Bolsheviks. How impartial!

BUREAUCRACY.

The Bill to establish a Ministry of Ways and Means met with a mixed reception. Vested interests scented possible nationalisation and protested. Absolutely disinterested members foretold the ruin of all transportation if a "Department" were in control. One cannot but sympathise with the latter when one sees the waste and jobbery that has occurred, and is occurring, in most Government controlled Departments. Sir Eric Geddes argued that the purpose of the Bill was to co-ordinate all means of transport and thus get more efficient work done, and save thereby. But one must ask whether Sir Eric Geddes knows anything of Ministries when he is so sanguine of success. Even should economy be effected, will not the retinue of the Minister cost more than any such economy? Further, a capitalist State is not capable, at least no proof has been given up to now, of running anything without the attendant red tape! Do we want *more* of it? Ireland, too, is intended to be blessed with this new departure should it become law. The Bill was read a second time, after being debated for two days.

EMPLOYMENT SCORNED.

March 19th.—Righteous indignation was expressed by certain members because employment is alleged to have been refused by some men and women receiving out-of-work "donations." Mr. J. Jones (Lab.) aptly asked whether the "unemployed rich" were applying for work!

ORIGIN OF THE WAR.

March 20th.—Earl Winterton (C.U.) accuses Mr. Bernard Shaw with attributing some responsibility of the war to the British! He is disturbed and wants the Government to show Mr. Shaw how mistaken he is. The Government does not intend, however, to publish an official denial. Apparently there is no one capable of measuring swords with G. B. S., especially as he is in the right.

ECONOMY.

On the Second Reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill economy in public expenditure was urged from all parts of the House. Mr. G. Lambert (L.) referred to the Army Estimates which are £500,000,000 this year, whilst about £30,000,000 was the pre-war one. He pleaded the right of the House to know whether "these Russian expeditions" were going to be continued, and "who we are going to fight!"

AGRICULTURE.

Big farming interests made a stand for continued subsidies for corn. The plea for the agricultural labourer was deftly interwoven. Of course the demands for increase in pay should be granted, they argued; but the farmers' position in reference to prices must be assured to enable them to pay the labourers adequately. If the land does not pay no one would continue to till it; and since these landowners want to prove that privately owned land is a risky business, surely they ought to advocate giving the land to the people!

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

EX-SHIP'S STEWARD.—Hotel worker, 19, desires employment, willing to learn; work for the cause preferred.—Box 400, this office.

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RUSSIA AND THE FACTS.
THE CATHOLIC CRUSADE
HAS ARRANGED A
MEETING
On THURSDAY, APRIL 3rd, 1919, at 7.30 p.m.
ADMISSION ONE SHILLING AT DOORS, AT
CHANDOS HALL (by Rehearsal Theatre),
MAIDEN LANE, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND,
To hear the account of eye witnesses recently returned from two years relief work in Russia.
SPEAKERS: DR. RICKMAN, MRS. RICKMAN, MISS WHITE
CHAIRMAN: CONRAD NOEL, Priest of the Crusade.
Questions invited.

IMPORTANT.
All Newsagents and Railway Bookstalls throughout the country will supply "The Workers' Dreadnought" if you only place your order.

As we go to press the news reaches us that W. F. Watson is out on bail, pending his appeal.

The Editor is obliged to hold over Mr. Francis's reply to Mr. Halls till next week.

PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

March 21st.—Mr. Waterman (Lab.) introduced a Bill with the above ambitious title. Doubtless the Labour Party credit it with power to prevent unemployment. But how? Are skilled workers going to enter "institutions" where they will receive "maintenance," as Clause 10 seems to presuppose? Will not "institutes" of that kind always savour of charity so long as our present system prevails? The Bill was rejected, not on grounds of insufficiency; but because such a far-reaching measure could not be dealt with hurriedly. Should the Labour Party make another try, let us hope the Bill will be as ambitious in its clauses as it is in its title. M. O'C.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE